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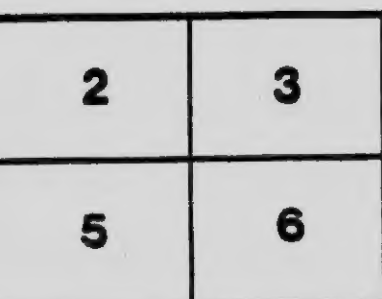
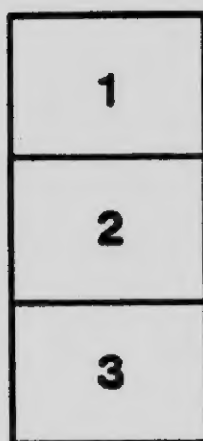
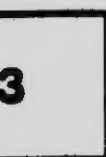
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OUTLINE OF AN ADDRESS

— BY —

Hon. Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper
K.C.M.G.

Delivered at North Vancouver,
B. C., Friday, March 24, 1911

One of the largest audiences ever gathered together in this city greeted Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper on Friday evening last to listen to his address upon the Reciprocity issue and they were well repaid for their attendance by the masterful and convincing speech to which they listened.

It was almost 9 o'clock before Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper rose to speak after having been introduced by Mr. G. H. Morden, the president of the local Conservative Association. He acknowledged the kind references to himself by the chairman and voiced his appreciation of the manner in which the local association had asked him to come over. In times past he had ven-

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tured to take issue with his party on numerous matters, in fact he thought it would be poor policy on the part of any party to narrow itself down to excluding free thought even by its own members, but in spite of this fact he had received an invitation to come to North Vancouver without being asked his position on Reciprocity and no limitation had been placed on him in any way. Later on in the evening he said as a matter of fact he would not have accepted an invitation to speak on the subject under any other circumstances because he was out of active political life.

In opening the subject he proposed to discuss the proposed Reciprocity Treaty not as a trade issue or in detail as to the several issues, including wheat, lumber, pulp wood, fruit and articles of manufacture. At first thought this may be considered extraordinary. Many have a desire to get rich quick but the speaker had an abiding faith that this question ought not to be settled in a mere huckstering spirit. It is not all we should set our hearts to. If that feeling had predominated in years past he declared there would be no Vancouver and no future of Canada as a nation would have been considered. He intended to discuss the proposed issue from a national point of view. The one cardinal point was not what is good for a year or so, but for the permanency of the British Consolidation in British North America.

This was challenged first in the time of Sir John McDonald when he had fought against the idea that Canada's future was wrapped up in that of the Republic to the South.

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Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as reported in "The Globe" of November 10th, 1890, speaking at Boston, said :

"Our object is, when there is a Liberal administration at Ottawa, to offer to the United States the free entrance of our territory to all American products, whether natural or manufactured, provided the United States extend the same privilege to the products of Canada. This involved that we would offer to the American nation advantages denied to the rest of the world."

"This is not a question of sentiment, and for my part, I am firmly convinced that the economic interests of Canada lie with this continent, and it is on the broad basis of continental freedom of trade that I place the question." (Applause.)"

Mr. Charlton, a Liberal and a supporter of Sir Wilfrid said at Detroit in 1902 :

"British Columbia, the Klondike and Yukon regions furnish a great market, which can be most economically supplied from Washington and Oregon. With reciprocity in trade the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island would buy their food supplies almost exclusively from the seaboard cities of the United States, and Ontario would be a large consumer of American food products for lumbering and mining operations, chiefly breadstuffs, and meats. * * *"

The national policy had been adopted in 1879. A voice from the audience asked the speaker if he was here at that time. "No, not in Vancouver

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but through the policy that was adopted by the government at that time. I am thankful that I am able to be here today." An ovation followed this remark. Many changes had taken place since that time however when it was thought the interchange of raw materials could be fairly sustained by Canada. It was interesting to note, he said, that in every instance annexationists favor reciprocity while imperialists oppose it. He did not wish, however, to cast any reflection on the Liberal party because of this. Many prominent Liberals and all imperialists are opposed to it. The imports and exports between this country and the United States affected by the present proposal amounted to \$95,000,000, about \$47,000,000 in each case. It would seem, he said, at first blush that an interchange of products could be satisfactorily accomplished. But what was the object of this treaty from the United States point of view? From 1878 and later the almost phenomenal success of the 8,000,000 people to the north of the international boundary line in spite of the fact that a rival nation of some 80,000,000 bordered Canada on the south besides having such natural geographical positions on the North American continent, attracted the United States who considered it beyond credence that the Republic should not monopolise all the trade. This state of prosperity in Canada led to investigation by the people to the south.

Before the committee of the United States Senate on the relations with Canada in 1890, Mr. Nimmo, who made an exhaustive examination and report stated:

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"The foregoing facts emphasize and serve to elucidate the point which I have before stated, namely, that the United States is confronted at the north by a government which is thoroughly committed to a political policy involving a participation in commerce which is essentially aggressive toward American interests. This is the real question which we have to meet, and it must be determined in order to protect American ships, American sea ports, and American transportation lines." * * * *

"In an editorial notice of the assembling of the commercial conference at San Francisco, the Evening Bulletin of that city stated the merits of the whole case in a single paragraph, as follows :

"Briefly stated, all the questions to be considered may be resolved in this one : What power is to have the commercial supremacy on that part of the Pacific ocean bordering the western side of North America ?" * * * *

"It seems to be an instinctive trait of the British mind to lay deep schemes for securing commercial advantage, and this trait in a high degree characterizes the Canadian people." * * * *

"It appears to me that out of this great debate the emergent question of national duty which arises to the view of this committee and of the whole country, is that of settling an effectual barrier to the desperate efforts now being made by the Canadian and British governments to divert commerce from American transporta-

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"tion lines and from American cities and by the sheer force of subvention to interfere with the proper course of our national development. Any line of policy which fails to secure the commercial supremacy of the United States on the North American continent will fail to meet the just aspirations of this 'proud expectant nation.'"

The old question of the fisheries was introduced ever and again by the United States and every effort was used to cripple Canada's trade but through the influence and protection of the Mother Country at the Hague the long standing fisheries question had been amicably settled.

Sir Hibbert quoted a very significant statement of President Taft who had said "we are now at the parting of the ways." No doubt the President was most sincere and had the best interests of his nation at heart when he made the declaration that the nation should conserve her forests by securing the raw material from Canada. The people north of the line had been drawers of water and hewers of wood but a change had taken place and President Taft had to inform his people that a great nation had now grown up, their trade and commerce had developed and their trade routes were becoming numerous. It is the avowed idea across the border that the United States and Alaska, from their geographical positions, should control this great trade of North America.

The Americans made no secret about their desire to grind the wheat and use the raw materials from Canada to their benefit. This was contained in

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utterances from prominent Americans.

U. S. statesmen propose to control the wheat market and grain trade. To grind our crops.

President Taft told the Illinois legislature :

"It will give U. S. control of the
"wheat market, U. S. milling plants
"will handle the flour trade, and
"stimulate the sale of manufactures
"to Canada."

Senator Beveridge tells us the U. S. wish to handle and store Canadian grain in their mills and elevators and send it through U. S. ports, New York, Boston and Portland.

Mr. Hill, the U. S. railway magnate, says this policy will prevent Imperial Preference. With Imperial Preference where would the market of U. S. be ?

The necessity of U. S. mills procuring Canadian wheat appears from the following citation of facts from the commission articles of the London "Times" :

\$120,000,000 are involved in England in your trade. 12 out of 17,000,000 quarters of April sown wheat were of a type unknown to British fields grown for British markets. It is a coarse wheat just such as the British merchant needs.

The great wheat producing states of the American centre, declared Sir Herbert produce a wheat not so strong in gluten. They require our wheat for the British market for flour.

NORTH WESTERN MILLER, January 8th, 1911, tells us :

Wheat will flow into mills and elevators of the States new mills—new markets sought abroad and secured. U. S. prosperity increased.

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U. S. require to secure additional freight carrying flour for U. S. mills.

U. S. Banks secure additional deposits and greatly enlarged accounts.

U. S. pay rolls will increase.

U. S. mills, machinery, bags, barrels and other mill supplies increased. More money circulated in U. S. U. S. grain elevators, firms and all subsidiary concerns increased in U. S. and U. S. real estate generally will rise.

And this, he said, is the testimony from U. S. authorities with respect to the proposed bargain which Mr. Fielding brought from Washington.

In the matter of nation building and speaking of the east, west and middle provinces it was hardly likely that 8,000,000 of people could successfully tackle 90,000,000 or 90,000,000. The consequences of becoming a part of the great majority seemed apparent. The Canadians had by the States been forced into nation building however, and succeeded to a wonderful degree.

Statesmanship was the great factor in nation building, declared Sir Herbert. Great Britain had not succeeded to her present supremacy on account of her geographical position. It was the splendid statesmanship and the spirit of her people. Out of Canada's weakness the United States sought to lay claim to the fisheries in favor of the New England states, but through the steadfastness of England even in the face of a probable war these interests had been protected and the outlying British domains had become cemented together in spite of temptation for gain.

The circumstances under the days of Reciprocity were exceptional. Dur-

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ing the Reciprocity period between 1854 and 1866 the province of Nova Scotia had enjoyed much prosperity. Shipbuilding was carried on on a large scale. But the United States reaped the most benefit. This prosperity to Canada generally was due to peculiar conditions existing at that time because the American war broke out and their industrial power went to pieces. Canada was to be punished by the abrogation of the treaty, the intention being to bring the B. N. A. to their provinces knees because of the supposed sympathy with the south. There was never in history, he said, a case where negotiations were going on between England and the United States that the latter did not try to take advantage of Canada and so far as he was concerned he was always suspicious of any advances from that quarter. After the war the Republic grew very rapidly and attracted thousands of our people. An exodus began. In our need, he said, we entered into the Brown Fisheries Treaty in 1874. But in their wildest dreams not even Sir John MacDonald or Mr. Brown had anticipated the present day prosperity of the Dominion of Canada. But even in those dark times Canada had an alternative policy. Mr. Charlton, one of the ablest men in the Liberal ranks and whose death was a loss to Canada, said in speaking of the rejection of the Brown Fisheries Treaty in 1902:

"The folly of this act can scarcely be overestimated. It changed the current of great forces brought in to play to counter purposes, conflict of interests, estrangement, friction, and ever-widening animosity. It changed the face of the his-

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"tory of the North American contin-
"ent and left the votary of British
"imperialism to thank God with ever
"increasing fervor as the years went
"by for the fatuous folly that closed
"the door in the face of all advances
"towards the community of interest
"and purpose and solidified year by
"year the conditions that would ul-
"timately render union impossible.
"Had the reciprocity treaty of 1854,
"with such added conditions as Can-
"ada would have granted in 1868, or
"had the Brown draft treaty of 1875
"been established and continued in
"force until the present time, Can-
"ada would have been practically, if
"not actually, a part of the United
"States at this moment."

That was the idea of a Liberal statesman, said Sir Hibbert.

In 1888 President Cleveland had sent a message to the Senate urging the passing of the Fisheries Treaty of that date but it was thrown out because it only had reference to the fisheries question and it was feared it would make the intercourse between the two countries too pleasant, it being generally thought that Canada was at the mercy of the United States six months in the year in respect to transportation facilities. But, declared the speaker, they apparently forgot about the east and west ports of the Dominion. The tenor of thought upon the part of United States legislators was clearly manifest in their utterances as follows:

SENATOR MORGAN—

"Canada is at our mercy in re-
"spect of her commerce during six
"months in the year." . . .

"If non-intercourse Act is put in
"force Canada will understand their

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"commercial prosperity depends on
"the will of the United States."

"When Canada will determine to
"come into close and intimate com-
"mercial union with us 'she will de-
"pend on the will of Congress.'"

This was proof that it was in the
minds of the Americans to bring Can-
ada under their control and in closer
relations with their country. But con-
gressmen had pointed out that the re-
fusal to enter into an agreement
might have quite the opposite effect.

R. NELSON said :

"Any interdict on trade will make
"the Canadian ports 'what the im-
"perialism of his son would sigh
"for.'"

MR. SEYMOUR said :

"It would strengthen and unify
"the Dominion, build up Canadian
"sea ports. Canada's main political
"weakness as a nation lies in lack
"of facilities for commercial inter-
"course between east and west and
"in the facilities between her west-
"ern ports and the United States."

"The far sighted statesmen of the
"Dominion propose to turn the
"trade of the N. W. into Canadian
"routes for purposes of consolida-
"tion of the Dominion. Witness
"their expenditure on canals and
"railways."

MR. FARQUHAR said :

"If this bill is construed as man-
"datory it makes our road from
"Port Moody to St. John and Hali-
"fax independent and profitable, and
"thereby controlling the trans and
"continental trade from one ocean
"to the other."

MR. WHITE of N. Y. told the U. S.
Congress :

"\$270,000,000 bonded goods from

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"Canada were handled in six years—
"stevedores, draymen, commission
"merchants, and railways all benefit-
"ted in U. S. \$3,500,000 annually
"would be lost to U. S. workmen."

Listen also to Mr. Charlton speak-
ing in 1902 on the transportation
question :

"The transportation question and
"its cognate interests figure largely
"in the consideration of the ques-
"tion of reciprocity of trade between
"the two countries. The great wheat
"fields of the Canadian Northwest
"will pour out an enormous volume
"of freight for the seaboard. This
"business will be sought for by two
"rival routes, that by the St. Law-
"rence and that by the great lakes,
"and the thousand ton barge canal
"from Buffalo. Every restriction im-
"posed upon this trade will have a
"tendency to divert it to Canadian
"channels, and the American trans-
"portation interest will handicap
"their natural advantages if they
"possess natural advantages super-
"ior to the Canadian route, by the
"imposition of restrictions and of
"custom house regulations that will
"inevitably have a tendency to repel
"trade from their routes and divert
"it to Canadian ones."

Thus it was feared that this interdict
would carry into effect that which was
dear to the heart of Sir John McDon-
ald, viz., imperialism and the success
of Canadian Industries and railways.

The Conservative party, declared Sir
Hibbert, had never been beaten on the
national policy question. The country
under the regime of that party had
stood the panic of 1890 better than
any other country in the world and as
a result the influx of population be-

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came great. United States citizens at that time brought their money to Canadian banks for safety.

Financial men invested their money in this country and trade and commerce expended.

Mr. Borden's resolution, June 14th, 1904:

"No readjustment of tariff can be regarded as satisfactory which does not provide such protection to our labor, agricultural products, manufactures and industries as will secure the Canadian market for the Canadian people."

In 1906 Sir Wilfrid Laurier had said he was as good an advocate of Imperial Preferential Trade as Sir Charles Tupper. Canada could not wait, so great was the impetus given her. Another transcontinental railway—a government owned railway or perhaps, he suggested, a railway owned government was started. Millions were invested in canals and waterways and through various channels inter-provincial trade expanded and trade with Britain increased. In United States their food was costing them more. In 1907 the standing offer of Reciprocity was wiped off the Statute Book. In this year Sir Wilfrid had stated as follows in conference with Mr. Asquith:

"So far as legislation can influence trade we have done everything possible to push our trade towards the British people as against the American people."

Then Mr. Asquith interposed:

"May I say I did not in the least dispute that? My object was not, as I think I made clear, in any sense to complain of the Canadian preference, on the contrary, I re-

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"cognize both its intention and its effect. My point was that natural conditions were such that it was advisable that the Americans should get the best of it."

To which the Prime Minister responded :

"Not only have we done it by preference, by legislation, but we have forced our trade against the laws, of nature and geography. If we were to follow the laws of nature and geography between Canada and the United States, the whole trade would flow from south to north, and from north to south."

"We have done everything possible by building canals and subsidizing railways to bring the trade from west to east, and east to west so as to bring trade into British channels. All this we have done, recognizing the principle of the great advantage of forcing trade within the British Empire."

This was a direct contradiction to the present proposals, stated Sir Herbert. One hundred millions of dollars had been spent on the Grand Trunk Pacific, the east and west route and now it was proposed to cut it in the middle—an operation generally attended with disastrous results to the ends. From 1898 to 1908 the increase in Canadian commerce had been 88 per cent. against 55 per cent in the United States. The exodus was from the States for the first time in the history of Canada. I venture to say, he continued, that this present treaty is the old artful hand which in one guise or another is ever trying to fly the stars and stripes over our land. It is an attempt to drive the thin

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edge of the wedge in. If this reciprocity pact is passed by the parliament of Canada we will go back to the stage of hewers of wood by letting the cream from our country pass away from us. There was only one thing to be thankful for, he said, if this pact were consummated, and that was it would drive a nail in the coffin of the curse of the country—the machine of party politics.

The task of consolidation has been a great one. Since 1867 it has been going on and without ill will to the great republic to the south.

"If the lure of gold does its dastardly work Canadians will prove unworthy of their history and of the glorious heritage which as members of the British Empire they share—an empire that is not only a mighty power but renowned for honor, justice and all that is best in human affairs. I have an abiding faith in the patriotism and common sense of my countrymen. I believe that they are ready to sink or swim under the old flag that has sheltered us in the past and under the king of the greatest empire the world has ever known."

Mayor McNeish in moving the vote of thanks said every cloud has a silver lining. For the last day or so the city has been plunged into difficulty by the accident to the wharf, but the silver lining was presented in this hall tonight by the excellent address just given. At this time when the Reciprocity treaty was under discussion such enlightenment as was given by Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper was most interesting and instructive.

Ex-Mayor May seconded the motion and said it was more than ordinary

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pleasure to be present. He paid a fitting tribute to the speaker for the clear and forceful manner in which his deliverances were given.

Prolonged applause greeted the unanimous adoption of the motion.



